5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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appear that, for longer prayers, the priests and others who recited them relied on their books. The early recording of these forms partly accounts for their universal similarity. Doubtless, the sporadic work of copying began in the Balkans. The majority of early Russian and South Slav material of this order has a uniform character, not to be found in other departments of either folk-lore or popular literature. Still more significant is the fact that exorcismal forms and the magical prescriptions which are first found associated with Orthodoxy, are not unknown in Catholic countries. As regards magical spells, these are remarkably uniform. In the Balkans, the oriental origins of the well-known legend formulae are re-emphasised by direct contact at a later date with Mohammedan culture. The gap between the Byzantine or Christianised prototype of the charm and the popular version might be explicable on these grounds.

III

The Orthodoxy of the Slavs gave early signs of extreme asceticism. In any case Christian culture, as such, offered no new material basis of healing, but would have provided only approved forms of the visitation of the sick, the consolation of prayer and sacrament.[1] Whatever the pre-Christian system was, it was officially classed as heathen survival, and it never dissociated itself entirely from its primitive conceptions.

To summarise the results of research, the seers and priests of antiquity used strong-smelling herbs for internal and external use; the bodies and products of animals, birds, reptiles and fishes; drugs and concoctions to induce sleep, intoxication or abortion, stimulants and poisons. The uses of certain minerals, and particularly of certain magical stones and a few pigments, were certainly known. To these were added

[1] The functions of the Orthodox priest as healer and exorciser, the use of holy water and oil, the laying-on of crosses, relics and books, etc., are epitomised in a note in Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 750.

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the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.